

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

SS-15 NSC-05 H-01 OMB-01 /063 W

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R 241500Z FEB 75

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1139

INFO 16TH AF TORREJON

USCINCEUR

JUSMAAG SPAIN

CINCUSAFE

CINCUSNAVEUR

US MISSION NATO 534

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 1282

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, SP

SUBJ: BASE NEGOTIATIONS: PRESS ROUNDUP

1. SUMMARY: "LA VANGUARDIA" (BARCELONA) EC AND NATO
CORRESPONDENT ANDRES GARRIGO REPORTED IN TWO ARTICLES
PUBLISHED FEB 20 AND 22 THAT:

A. COMMITMENT UNDER ARTICLE 5 OF NATO TREATY
SUFFICIENTLY AMBIGUOUS TO LEAVE TO ANY MEMBER ULTIMATE
DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO USE FORCE.

B. SIMILAR DEFENSE TREATY
BETWEEN SPAIN AND U.S.
WOULD NEVER BE OPERATIVE IN CONTEXT OTHER THAN
CONFRONTATION WITH SOVIETS.

C. SPAIN OUGHT THEREFORE TO ESCHEW PROMISES CONTAINED
IN ALLIANCES AND SEEK INSTEAD MAXIMUM TANGIBLE BENEFITS
IT CAN OBTAIN, INCLUDING EQUIPMENT, INFRASTRUCTURE,
AGREEMENTS FOR INDUSTRIAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND TECHNICAL
COOPERATION, CREDITS, ETC.

D. FEB 22 ARTICLE STATED THAT ACCORDING TO WELL-
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INFORMED SOURCES, BUT UNCONFIRMED INFORMATION, SPAIN HAS

PROPOSED U.S. ABANDON BASES AT MORON AND TORREJON AND REMAIN IN REDUCED PRESENCE AT ROTA AND ZARAGOZA. ACCORDINGLY, SPAIN HAS DROPPED ITS DEMANDS FOR RECIPROCAL DEFENSE TREATY IN VIEW OF ATTITUDE OF U.S. CONGRESS. EMBASSY VIEWS FEB 22 ARTICLE AS MORE THAN PRESS SPECULATION, BUT RATHER INDICATION OF ATTITUDE OF GOS, LEAKED TO PRESS, AS TO WHAT PROPOSALS THEY ARE LIKELY TO TABLE AT NEXT ROUND MARCH 10. END SUMMARY.

2. FEB 20 EDITION OF BARCELONA DAILY "LA VANGUARDIA" FEATURED ARTICLE WRITTEN BY VANGUARDIA BRUSSELS CORRESPONDENT ANDRES GARRIGO COMPARING U.S. NATO RELATIONS WITH THOSE BETWEEN U.S. AND SPAIN, CITING U.S. SOURCES IN NATO FOR SOME OF MATERIAL PRESENTED IN ARTICLE. ARTICLE HEADLINED "UNITED STATES NOT OBLIGATED TO DEFEND SPAIN IN CASE OF EXTERIOR AGRESSION DUE TO POSTURE OF WASHINGTON TO MAINTAIN MILITARY READINESS AGAINST ANY ATTACK ON ITS NATO ALLIES."

3. HEADLINE SOMEWHAT MISLEADING, HOWEVER, AS FIRST SENTENCE OF ARTICLE MAKES POINT THAT U.S. DOES NOT HAVE COMMITMENT TO INTERVENE IN FAVOR OF NATO ALLIES WHO ARE VICTIMS OF ENEMY ATTACK, THEREFORE U.S. CANNOT PROMISE SPAIN A COMMITMENT IT HAS NOT GIVEN TO ITS "INTIMATE ALLIES".

4. ARTICLE THEN GOES ON TO EXPLAIN AMBIGUITY OF ARTICLE V OF NATO TREATY, WHICH, ACCORDING TO U.S. SOURCES IN NATO, LEAVES UP TO EACH GOVT AND ITS INTERNAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURES, DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO USE FORCE. ARTICLE FURTHER EXPLAINS THAT AFTER VIETNAM WAR, THESE PROCEDURES HAVE BECOME MORE DIFFICULT FOR U.S. GIVEN INCREASED CONTRL OF CONGRESS OVER CAPACITY OF PRESIDENT TO COMMIT U.S. TO MILITARY ADVENTURES.

5. HOWEVER, IN ALL OUT ATTACK SCENARIO, NO DOUBT IN MINDS OF NATO THAT U.S. WOULD ASSIST SPAIN AS MORE SECURE BASE FOR COUNTERATTACK AND BETTER DEFENSE AREA. "IN CRUNCH, IT WAS INSINUTATED TO ME, U.S. WOULD AID SPAIN WHETHER THERE WAS AGREEMENT OR TREATY OR NOTHING SIGNED AT ALL. AT SAME TIME, WELL-INFORMED SOURCES BELIEVE THAT HOWEVER EFFECTIVE BILATTEAL AGREEMENT WITH U.S. WE OBTAINED, WE WOULD NOT

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RECEIVE LEAST COLLABORATION IN CASE OF CONFRONTATION WITH ENEMY OTHER THAN SOVIETS. ALTHOUGH SPAIN MIGHT BE VICTIM OF AGGRESSION IN AFRICAN TERRITORY, WHATEVER GUARANTEES ACCORDED TO US IN HYPOTHETICAL DEFENSE TREATY WITH U.S. WOULD IN PRACTICE BE INOPERATIVE."

6. GARRIGO GOES ON TO SAY THAT IN FINAL ANALYSIS WHAT REALLY COUNTS FOR SPAIN IN CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH U.S.

IS CONCRETE ASSISTANCE, WHETHER MILITARY, ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL, OR OTHER, THAT SPAIN OBTAINS, NOT PROMISES. AS EUROPE IS NOT MILITARY ALTERNATIVE, SPAIN SHOULD OBTAIN FROM U.S. MAXIMUM IN EQUIPMENT, INFRASTRUCTURE, LICENSES, AGREEMENTS FOR INDUSTRIAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION, CREDITS AND WHATEVER POSSIBLE, WITHOUT BECOMING SERVILE OR DEPENDENT IN "BIG BROTHER" MANNER.

7. FACT THAT OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE REVISING STATUS OF U.S. BASES-AGREECE, TURKEY, AND PORTUGAL--OFFERS SPANISH NEGOTIATORS UNDENIABLE AND OPPORTUNE ADVANTAGE, IF IT IS EXPLOITED WITH "TACT AND COLD REALISM".

8. MORE SIGNIFICANT PERHAPS IS SECOND GARRIGO ARTICLE APPEARING SATURDAY, FEB 22 HEADLINED QUOTE: BRUSSELS: SPAIN HAS PROPOSED U.S. ABANDONMENT OF BASES OF MORON AND TORREJON UNQUOTE ACCORDING TO TEXT OF ARTICLE, BASED UPON "UNCONFIRMED INFORMATION" BUT "WELL-INFORMED SOURCES", SPANISH GOVT HAS PROPOSED TO U.S. ABANDONMENT OF BASES IN MARON AND TORREJON, WHILE U.S. WOULD REMAIN AT "REDUCED PRESENCE" IN ROTA AND ZARAGOZA. ACCORDINGLY SPAIN HAS ALSO WITHDRAWN ITS DEMAND FOR RECIPROCAL DEFENSE TREATY IN VIEW OF MOOD OF AMERICAN CONGRESS REGARDING ANY AUTOMATIC DEFENSE COMMITMENT, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF POST-VIETNAM SITUATION.

9. IN SAME VEIN, WASHINGTON POST CORRESPONDENT MIGUEL ACOCA CALLED EMBASSY FEB 21 TO ANNOUNCE HE WAS REPORTING THAT ONE OF HIS RELIABLE SOURCES INDICATED TO HIM SPANISH HAD ALREADY DEMANDED U.S. LEAVE TORREJON.

10. COMMENT: EMBASSY REACTION IS THAT GARRIGO'S FEB 22 ARTICLE TOGETHER WITH ACOCA REPORT IS MORE THAN PRESS CONFIDENTIAL

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SPECULATION FEEDING UPON ITSELF. GARRIGO IS CONSIDERED SERIOUS, WELL-INFORMED JOURNALIST AND ONE OF BEST CORRESPONDENTS ON "LA VANGUARDIA" STAFF. GOS WOULD APPEAR TO BE DROPPING SIGNALS AS TO WHAT SPANISH ARE CONSIDERING FOR NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS SCHEDULED FOR MARCH 20. EATON

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